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ABSTRACT

A report is given of a study comparing the classroom, school, and community phenomena that secondary school teachers in the United States, England, and West Germany experience as sources of enthusiasm and discouragement in their professional work. The teachers were interviewed in groups of five to ten in their own schools. The open-end structured interviews were focused on two areas: sources of enthusiasm and discouragement in their work, and increasing the power of sources for enthusiasm and decreasing the power of sources for discouragement. The discussions centered on ways in which sources for enthusiasm and discouragement for teachers in their work were similar and different in the three countries, and the teachers' recommendations for increasing their job satisfaction. Good relationships with students were a source of satisfaction for most of the teachers, though to varying degrees, while poor relationships with administrators and lack of status emerged as common themes when discussion focused on discouragement. Recommendations for improvement included better relations with parents and the community. Several points of possible cross-cultural learning are identified which educators in each of the three countries might wish to consider. (JD)

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A CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON OF THE SOURCES OF PROFESSIONAL ENTHUSIASM AND DISCOURAGEMENT IN TEACHING IN ENGLAND, WEST GERMANY, AND THE UNITED STATES

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INTRODUCTION

This paper is a report of a study still in progress which compares the classroom, school, and community phenomena that comprehensive secondary school teachers in three countries experience as sources of enthusiasm and discouragement in their professional work. In addition to discovering what these phenomena are for teachers, the nature of the processes by which each phenomenon arouses enthusiasm or discouragement is explored. Further, recommendations for increasing the power of sources of professional enthusiasm for teachers and decreasing the power of sources of professional discouragement are examined.

The study is designed to provide both contributions to behavioral science knowledge and suggestions for the enhancement of the quality of work life of teachers in the three countries. In more specific terms, the study probes

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similarities and differences between secondary teachers in the three cultural settings in regard to the personal, interpersonal, and situational nature of their sources of enthusiasm and discouragement, the particular dynamics of the motivational processes aroused by these sources, and the strategies teachers suggest for increasing enthusiasm and decreasing discouragement. Drawing upon the socio-psychological understandings extracted from the similarities and differences between cultural settings and the content of the findings per se, action guidelines (Rothman, 1974) for the development of policies and practices are suggested to enhance the professional experience of teachers in comprehensive secondary schools in each of the three countries.

The data available, thus far, for this study were collected in 1985 by the Frankfurt-Michigan-Sheffield Cross-Cultural Study Program -- a consortium of faculty and graduate students in the Education units at the Universities of Frankfurt (West Germany), Michigan (U.S.A.), and Sheffield (England). Further data collection for this particular study continues in the U.S.A. and will continue in West Germany and England as funds become available.This paper is concerned only with the available data on sources of enthusiasm and discouragement identified by teachers and their recommendations for increasing enthusiasm and decreasing discouragement. Data on the dynamics of the motivational processes aroused by these sources will be addressed in a near-future paper.

Thus, a research team of faculty and graduate students existing at each university has collaborated with the other two teams in this cross-cultural, comparative study. The study reported here is part of an ongoing, larger research venture by the Cross-Cultural Study Program on teaching practice and teacher satisfaction.

RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

The rationale for this study's focus on sources of professional enthusiasm and discouragement, how these sources are cognitively and affectively processed by teachers, what can be done to increase enthusiasm and decrease discouragement, and the use of cross-cultural comparison follow below.

Enthusiasm and discouragement in the classroom and school settings are important sources of influence on both the quality of work life of teachers and the eventual academic learning and socio-emotional development of students. Blase (1985), from his own studies on teacher stress, advises us that student discipline problems can be a source of discouragement for teachers which then leads to their emotional and physical fatigue and their decrease in work motivation, involvement, and satisfaction. Dunham (1976) provides evidence that frustrations raised by major school reorganization activities can influence teachers to manifest direct and indirect expressions of aggression, a variety of psychosomatic symptoms and several forms of withdrawal ranging from absenteeism to leaving teaching. Other researchers (Argyris, 1957; McLaughlin et al, 1986) indicate that, when poor work conditions preclude teachers from actualizing their motivations and abilities, feelings of failure prompt teachers to place increased value on material rewards, become hostile toward school officials, and work for promotion to non-teaching positions. Rosenshine and Furst (1971), Cruickshank (1980, p. 212), and Collins (1976) state that there is ample evidence of a strong, positive relationship between teacher enthusiasm and student achievement. Gillett (1980) demonstrates that teacher enthusiasm increases students' attentiveness to instruction, and Allen (1980) states that students' assessments of their teachers are positvely related to enthusiasm in teaching.

An understanding of how teachers process phenomena in the context of their work setting into consequences of enthusiasm or discouragement is essential both for generating knowledge about teacher motivaton and for designing sensitive and sound policy and practice to maintain and increase motivation. While earlier conceptualizations (James 1890; Lange, 1885) of emotions treated them as reflexive responses to a stimulus object, more recent theories (Arnold, 1960; Izard, 1977; Lazarus, 1968; Schacter, 1966; Tomkins, 1965) tend to place emphasis on some form of cognitive mediation between the stimulus event and the emotional response. Zajonc (1980), on the other hand, has asserted that while affective reactions often occur with little cognitive or perceptual interpretation, those that involve a minimum of cognitive activity are different from those that involve more extensive cognitive activity. It is important to understand the extent to which feelings of enthusiasm and discouragement have antecedent cognitive processes and what is the particular nature of these processes. We already have some formal speculations on what the general nature of these processes is. For instance, Gambrill and Richey (1985) differentiate between "skillpower and willpower" reactions to problems -- the former usually resulting in feelings of encouragement, optimism, and success and the latter in confusion and guilt. Jourard (1971) proposes that when persons face issues with the courage to be true to their own values and beliefs, they experience good health, fullest personal development, and meaningfulness. They are much less likely to experience these benefits without that courage. Menlo (1984) advances the proposition that the extent to which persons respond with resistance to a request for alteration in behavior is a function of their cognitive processing of expected personal, social, or material losses. Shaver and Strong (1982) assert that the ways

persons react to problem situations are influenced by their values-grounded frames of reference. From this perspective, they then suggest ways for teachers to become more aware of their own values in order to constructively form decisions to problems they face.

The extent of congruency/incongruency between how teachers experience their own motivational processes and the recommendations they make for enhancing the classroom and school settings can provide important indicators of the relevance of teachers' recommendations for educational change. On the one hand, teachers are the most accurate sources of their own internal experiences and are in the favored position to observe the day-to-day phenomena which influence classroom and school operations. This would seem to make them the best advisers about what policies and practices need to be changed in order to increase their own feelings of enthusiasm and decrease their feelings of discouragement. On the other hand, there is evidence to bring this assumption, at least partially, into question. There are many findings (Greenwald, 1980) from recent research in personality, cognitive, and social psychology which demonstrate that people tend to fabricate and revise their personal histories. These biased accountings of experience are probably more characteristic of normal personalities than most of us are aware. Early experiments (Bartlett, 1932) indicate that the personal past is being continually remade and reconstructed in the interests of the present. Further, it has been observed (Wixon and Laird, 1967) that we tend to be poor historians of our own lives, since we are often inattentive while life experience is in progress and we become revisionists who will justify the present by changing the past. For instance, a review of several studies that compare teachers' reports of their own classroom behavior with the reports of

observers show the existence of sizeable discrepancies (Hook and Rosenshine, 1979). Observations of professionals in leadership roles (Argyris and Schon, 1975) indicate not only this same kind of gap, but both an unawareness of it plus an unawareness of that unawareness. Additionally, one behaviorial scientist (Welles, 1986) observes that self-deception has been, and continues to be, a prevalent means for adaptation in groups and organizations. He contends that, since criticism makes people self-conscious and has an immediate, short-term disruptive effect, people will collude against the surfacing of negative factors. People then engage in mainly positive feedback to the point of preventing themselves from recognizing the contradictions between their behaviors and their beliefs. Finally, there is the question of to what extent practitioners, in general, have learned to master the complex task of applying knowledge to the solution of educational problems (Boyd and Menlo, 1984). So, clearly, there appears to be the need for deeper understanding of how to maximize the usefulness of information from teachers in the service of improving their own classroom and school life.

The extent to which teachers perceive themselves, others, and situational factors as agents, mediums, and targets of needed educational change provides important understandings about teacher personality, feelings of helplessness and powerfulness, and the appropriate roles and needed inservice education of teachers in educational change. We already know that some persons will characteristically view themselves as having control or power over the events in their lives, and others will regularly believe that events in their lives are mainly influenced by other persons and situational factors. (Rotter, 1966). How does this information relate to secondary teachers as a general population, to their predispositions to initiate and participate in planning

and action-taking for school improvement, and to teacher behavior across three cultures? The human condition of learned helplessness and its association with discouragement and depression have also been identified and explained. So, too, has the importance of developing a sense of power to affect what happens to oneself as a way of moving away from discouragement and depression (Abramson, Seligson, and Tessdale, 1978). To what extent do schools as work settings present experiences for teachers where their actions have little effect or their actions have strong effect on what happens to them? McLaughlin and his associates (1986) believe that schools are often set up to preclude teachers from achieving a sense of efficacy, success, and self-worth. Behavioral science research and theory has long advised us of the proposition that the feelings of security, prerequisite to risk-taking, are a function of a person's perception of own power plus the person's perception of supportive versus non-supportive ecological forces within their organizational setting (Cartwright, 1950). To what extent do teachers experience personal power and how can ecological forces within the school community be mobilized so as to provide the security from which teachers are likely to risk efforts toward changing school conditons? It seems that the above questions and findings need to be considered in the development and planning of inservice education for teachers. Educational approaches (e.g., Deci, 1980) and psychotherapeutic approaches (e.g., Ellis and Harper, 1975) have been developed to help persons increase their sense of personal power and control over everyday issues. Tough (1971) has studied how individual adults can organize and guide their own learning and change efforts. Argyris and Schon (1974) and Schon (1983) propose models and approaches for helping professional practitioners bring congruency between their theories of action and their

actual behavior. And, knowledge and systematic practices have been described (Huberman and Miles, 1984; Rosenblum and Louis, 1981; Schmuck and Runkel, 1977) for introducing change and innovation in schools. A final question, here, is what shape and form can inservice programs for teachers take in order to integrate and apply the knowledge which has been generated and the procedures which have been tested for bringing about personal, group, and organizational development?

Cross-cultural comparisons between findings from each of the three countries provide the opportunity to extract understandings and develop recommendations which have a more broad and reliable base than those developed from a unicultural base of information. In cross-cultural research, each culture acts as yet another experimental setting to both test the universality of findings and discover the influence of the particular culture on the phenomena under consideration. As Reijo Raivola explains (1985), cross-cultural research is often used as a frame of reference. By comparing different cultures with the same frame of reference, we may see institutions and functions which exist in one culture, but not the other. Even if the same functions exist, they have different combinations or varying degrees of strength. Thus, cross-cultural research may be a rich source for both universals (across cultures) and particulars (within each culture). While culturally-based differences of an epistemological, ontological, and valuational nature must be carefully considered, findings of similarities and differences between cultural settings can be sources of understanding and provide a basis for recommendations for policy and practice within and across the settings (Brislin, R.W., Lonner, W.J., and Thorndike, R.M., 1973; Price-Williams, 1975). Few recommendations for change in education have been developed directly from first-hand cross-cultural data.

METHODOLOGY

Data Source and Collection

Secondary classroom teachers from both urban and suburban comprehensive schools in all three countries have been the data sources used, thus far, in the study. The teachers represent diversity in the number of years in the profession and in the subjects taught. They are located in educationally progressive areas in each of the three countries: the state of Hessen in West Germany, the Midlands area (with Sheffield as the hub) in England, and the state of Michigan in the United States. They were interviewed in groups of five-to-ten in the setting of their own schools. The group interviews occurred during the school day with the cooperation of the school administrator and with the voluntary participation of the teachers.

With each group of teachers, a structured, unrushed, open-end interview was conducted. Group members were first asked to identify all the things which they thought "turn teachers on" or make teachers feel excited or enthused about teaching. Individual teachers contributed specific items and then explained them to verify their exact meaning. These responses were listed on newsprint for all to view and, whenever possible, exact wording was recorded. In addition to recording the items on newsprint, the facilitators tape recorded the interviews and took hand-recorded notes. Each member was asked to review the entire list of responses and then to privately identify two items from the list which "turn on" the member personally the most. Following this procedure, each member was presented with a large card and asked to write down an explanation of how and why each of the two personal selections "turns on" the member. At this point, each member was requested to announce his/her own "turns ons." These responses were tallied on the

newsprint and then members briefly shared how each of their items aroused their state of being "turned on." The individuals' cards were then collected. Following this, the same procedure was used for "turn offs", discouragements, or dissatisfactions. As a final procedure in the interview, the group members were asked to suggest and explain what things they thought could be done to decrease the experiences of discouragement ("turn offs") and increase the experiences of enthusiasm ("turn ons") which they, as a group, had identified. Each group interview lasted from 1 1/2 to 2 hours. Interviews were staffed by three person teams of facilitator, newsprint recorder, and observation recorder.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The open-end structured group interviews were focused on two areas. The first area dealt with sources of enthusiasm and discouragement in their professional work. The second area dealt with increasing the power of sources of enthusiasm for teachers and decreasing the power of sources of professional discouragement.

In the first area, the following questions were asked:

1. Thinking about teaching and taking into account your own experience as a teacher, what do you think are the things that generally "turn on" teachers or make them excited or enthusiastic in relation to their teaching?

2. Out of the list we have generated, what would be the two things that personally "turn you on" the most?

3. Please explain how and why each item you personally chose "turns you on?"

4. Thinking about teaching and taking into account your own experience as a teacher, what do you think are the things that most likely "turn off" teachers or at times make them feel discouraged or want to leave teaching as an occupation?

5. Out of the list we have generated, what would be the two things that personally "turn you off" the most?

6. Please explain how and why each item you personally chose "turns you off?"

In the second area, the following question was asked:

Please suggest/recommend what things you believe could be done to decrease teacher experiences of discouragement and increase their experiences of enthusiasm. Feel free to include things related to whatever levels or areas of education which come to mind.

Data Analysis

To analyze the sources of enthusiasm in teaching, an inductive procedure was first used to create discrete nominal categories of distinctly alike sources from a total listing of sources self-selected by teachers across all three countries. Then frequencies and percentages of the self-selected items

within each created category for each country, accommodating for differences in sample size, were calculated. The Chi-square test for independent samples was used to determine significant differences between teachers of the three countries in regard to their self-perceived sources of enthusiasm. The same procedure was conducted for self-perceived sources of discouragement in teaching.

The suggestions which teachers mentioned in all three countries for increasing enthusiasm and decreasing discouragement in teaching were also analyzed. First, an inductive approach was again used to create categories of similar ideas from the total listing of suggestions presented by the teachers across all three countries. Second, frequencies and percentages of suggested items within each created category by country, accomodating for differences in sample size, were computed. The Chi-square for independent samples was employed to determine whether the observed frequencies signified differences among the three populations.

Some low and zero frequencies appear in some categories in tables which appear in the RESULTS section of this paper. We are aware that the combining of categories in order to eliminate these low and zero frequencies would have been advised to meet conditions for using Chi-square. Because of the significance of the information provided by the low or zero frequencies, we chose to leave them in place.

RESULTS

There are three major research questions to be addressed in this paper, each concerning a different dimension of teacher perception or opinion from a cross-cultural perspective. Comparisons are made of three sets of unicultural

data which were collected in the same fashion in each of the cultural settings. Each question will be addressed through the presentation of a table of figures, interpretation of the table, and integrative observations and comments. Although there will be reference to teachers in the United States, England, and West Germany, it is clearly understood that this reference is to the particular teachers who were interviewed in small, but similar, areas in each of the three countries.

Question #1 In what ways are the sources of enthusiasm for teachers in their work similar and different in the United States, England, and West Germany?

Table I displays how the sources of enthusiasm self-selected by all teachers (two per teacher) in each culture were distributed across all the categories of sources. At the top of each of the first four columns is the number of teachers responding. The smaller numbers in the columns are the frequencies of the selections, and the percentage accompanying each frequency is the percent which that frequency is of the total number of selections indicated at the bottom of the column. Chi squares and their levels of significance for all separate factors (sources) are in the two last columns, with the overall Chi square and significance level at the bottom left. The same is true for Tables II and III.

In Table I, the only two sources which arouse strong enthusiasm among similar percentages of teachers in each culture appear to be ones which were generally less selected: a sense of teacher independence, and positive classroom climate and environment. Substantially more English and German teachers self-selected items in the category of good teacher-student relations than did the United States teachers. Our own observations have advised us

TABLE 1

COMPARISON OF STRONGEST SOURCES OF ENTHUSIASM FOR TEACHERS
IN THEIR WORK ACROSS THREE COUNTRIES

	Sources of Enthusiasm	56 Teachers U.S. % & N of Responses	66 Teachers England % & N of Responses	67 Teachers Germany % & N of Responses	189 Teachers Total % & N of Responses	χ^2	P (df=2
	Good teacher-student relations	4% 5	21% 28	23% 31	17% 64	13.5	<.01
I	Achievement, success, & progress of students	11% 12	22% 30	10% 13	15% 55	5.9	<.05
II	Enthusiasm, interest, & responsiveness of students	11% 12	24% 32	7% 10	14% 54	11.2	<.01
V	Teachers working & sharing together	18% 20	5% 6	16% 21	12% 47	7.5	<.05
	Students showing initiative & independence	8% 9	4% 5	20% 27	12% 41	7.5	<.05
I	Parental support	3% 3	1% 1	14% 18	6% 22	17.6	<.001
II	Teacher's enjoyment of young people & teaching	19% 21	1% 2	0% -	6% 23	16.2	<.001
III	Positive classroom climate & environment	2% 2	2% 3	0% -	6% 23	31.1	<.001
X	Teachers receiving appreciation, recognition, & respect	2% 1	6% 8	7% 10	5% 20	2.8	N.S.
	Supportive administration	1% 1	10% 13	3% 4	5% 18	9.6	<.01
I	Teacher's sense of independence	15% 17	0% -	0% -	5% 17	30	<.001
II	Positive material aspects of the job	4% 5	5% 6	0% -	3% 11	4.6	N.S.
		4% 5	0% -	0% -	1% 5	8.2	<.02
	Totals	100% 112	100% 131	100% 134	100% 377		

χ^2=214.3 df=22 p<.001

that English secondary teachers seem to "take time out" for human relations with students separately from teaching, that German teachers struggle inside and outside the classroom at good relations with students, and that United States teachers view good teacher-student relations as an accepted part of the teaching-learning situation. If this is true, it may explain why attaining good relations with students has so much more positive stimulus power for the German and English teachers. Sizeably more United States and German teachers seem to derive excitement from teachers working and sharing together than do the English teachers. This may reflect the greater amount of autonomy to which English teachers are generally accustomed. More German teachers appear to become enthused from students showing initiative and independence and from parental support than do the English and United States teachers. Many German teachers speak of the responsibility to develop independence and initiative in young people so as to keep recent history of authoritarianism from repeating itself. More English teachers seem to be energized by achievement, success, and progress of students and by their enthusiasm, interest, and responsiveness than do United States or German teachers. In contrast to the activeness of this achievement and responsiveness of students as a priority source of enthusiasm for English teachers, many more United States teachers appear to derive joy from the inherent nature of young people and teaching than do either the English or German. Of particular note, is the percentage of United States teachers who selected supportive administration as a source of enthusiasm as compared with no selection of this source by English or German teachers. How does one explain this greater dependency of United States teachers on administration for positive feelings in their work, or, perhaps, the greater power of administrators to be sources of reward in school life?

In passing, it would seem important to observe the low stimulus value of income for teachers in all three cultural settings. Only two of the five United States teachers who identified positive material aspects of the job as a source of enthusiasm even mentioned improvement in salary schedules as important. This observation would seem to be especially siginificant in light of the recommendations of several recent national reports for the improvement of teaching. Whenever teachers did speak to us of increases in financial compensation, it was almost always suggested as a means of heightening the status of teachers rather than as a source of motivation toward better teaching.

Question 2 In what ways are the sources of discouragement of teachers in their work similar and different in the United States, England, and West Germany?

Referring to Table II, two categories of sources of discouragement which appear to contain more similarity than difference between teachers in the three cultures are ones which teachers minimally self-selected: difficulties in relationships and understandings between teachers, and insufficient pay and lack of promotion. From the way the interview question was asked, this would seem to mean that while relationship differences with other teachers occur, they are not experienced by many as the strongest source of discouragement. While economic conditions for English teachers are presently quite poor and United States teachers' salaries, in general, are below reasonable aspirations, inadequate pay does not seem to function as a priority de-energizer for many. With comparatively higher pay for teachers in West Germany, no German teachers even select pay as a source of discouragement for

TABLE II

COMPARISON OF STRONGEST SOURCES OF DISCOURAGEMENT FOR TEACHERS IN THEIR WORK ACROSS THREE COUNTRIES

	Sources of Discouragement	43 Teachers U.S. % & N of Responses	62 Teachers England % & N of Responses	50 Teachers Germany % & N of Responses	155 Teachers Total % & N of Responses	χ^2	P (df=2)
	Uncooperative & disruptive behavior of students	6 7%	17 14%	35 35%	58 19%	30.8	<.001
I	Lack of motivation, success, enjoyment, & happiness of students	9 10%	21 17%	25 25%	55 18%	6.4	<.05
II	Excessive demands on teacher responsibility, role, & time	22 26%	18 14%	12 12%	52 17%	6.6	<.05
V	Lack of appreciation, understanding, status & recognition from the larger community for teachers	16 19%	22 18%	7 7%	45 14%	6.0	<.05
	Lack of support & inadequate leadership from administration	13 15%	12 10%	14 14%	39 13%	1.06	N.S.
I	Low morale, lack of enthusiasm, energy, & a sense of meaninglessness for teachers	11 13%	12 10%	- 0%	23 7%	12.5	<.001
II	Lack of resources & poor working conditions	2 2%	11 9%	2 2%	15 5%	7.5	<.05
III	Difficulties in relationships & understanding between teachers	4 5%	4 3%	5 5%	13 4%	.61	N.S.
X	Insufficient pay & lack of promotion	3 3%	6 5%	- 0%	9 3%	4.8	N.S.
	Totals	86 100%	123 100%	100 100%	309 100%		

χ^2=63.5 df=16 p=.001

themselves. Thus, as we discover, neither is improved pay a major source of enthusiasm nor poor pay a major source of discouragement. The third category in which there appears to be similarity in the extent to which teachers from all three cultures select it as a turn-off is lack of support and inadequate leadership from administration. While a sizeably larger proportion of United States teachers than English or German teachers selected good administrator practice as a turn-on, teachers from all three cultures equally selected poor administrator practice as a turn-off. A greater percentage of the United States and English teachers cite lack of appreciation, understanding, status, and recognition as a source of discouragement than do the German teachers. Is there something to be learned from West German policy regarding status for teachers? Likewise, is there something for England and United States to learn from West Germany regarding morale, enthusiasm, energy, and meaningfulness for teachers, since more of the former two cite the lack of it as a source of discouragement than the latter does? More of the United States teachers appear to lament over excessive demands on their responsibility, role, and time than do German and English teachers. In what ways can the structure of German and English teachers' roles and the arrangements of school time inform a revision of role and time arrangements for United States teachers? Finally, after observing the sizeable extent to which German teachers are discouraged by uncooperative and disruptive behavior of students in comparison to the United States and English teachers, what learnings might be available to German educators from the United States and English forms of preservice and inservice education for teachers, as well as policies and practices regarding discipline within schools? Our discussions with German teachers informed us of an underlying tension between their desires for helping students develop

initiative and independance (See Table I) and their own feelings of hurt, despair, and quasi-helplessness in facing the resultant release of assertiveness in students. For many, it seemed to be a case of their being challenged by the opportunity but without the classroom management skills to fully meet the challenge.

Question 3

In what ways are teachers' recommendations for increasing their experiences of enthusiasm and decreasing their experiences of discouragement similar and different in the United States, England, and West Germany?

With reference to Table III, a greater percentage of the recommendations concerning how the time and work of the school are organized was given by English and German than United States teachers. Perhaps their experience brings them to see more possibilities in this area. Among the recommendations from English and German teachers are those concerned with more thoughtful alignments of knowledge to be taught and time frames for learning, more time for teachers' own development (e.g., visiting other schools), having a day each week to plan and develop curriculum and materials, enlarging the school day, more time for teacher-teacher consultation, a combination of administratively organized and teacher self-organized time, more time allotted for work with individual students, brief free times for "breathing space", thoughtful reconsideration of the number of classes teachers teach and students take per day, and a careful redefinition and reorganization of the teacher's role and responsibilities, and bringing individual teacher responsibilities more in line with their prior training. Among the United States teachers' recommendations are ones concerning physical fitness time for

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF TEACHERS' RECOMMENDATIONS FOR INCREASING ENTHUSIASM & DECREASING DISCOURAGEMENT IN THEIR WORK ACROSS THREE COUNTRIES

	Recommendations related to:	56 Teachers U.S. % & N of Responses	66 Teachers England % & N of Responses	67 Teachers Germany % & N of Responses	189 Teachers Total % & N of Responses	x^2	P (df=2)
I	How the time and work of the school are organized	7%[5]	17%[14]	22%[6]	15%[25]	7.6	<.05
II	Professional, group, and organizational development activity	14%[9]	17%[14]	7%[2]	15%[25]	3.9	N.S.
III	System policies which influence schools and how they operate	12%[8]	9%[7]	15%[4]	11%[19]	1.5	N.S.
IV	Education and involvement of parents and community at large	6%[4]	10%[8]	15%[4]	9%[16]	3.8	N.S.
V	Status and prestige of teachers	11%[7]	10%[8]		9%[15]	10.5	<.01
VI	Financing of human and material resources	5%[3]	11%[9]	4%[1]	7%[13]	4.3	N.S.
VII	School and classroom practices regarding students	11%[7]	4%[3]	7%[2]	7%[12]	3.3	N.S.
VIII	Administrator practice	14%[9]	0%[-]	4%[1]	6%[10]	17.2	<.001
IX	Pre-service teacher education	3%[2]	7%[6]	4%[1]	5%[9]	1.8	N.S.
X	Class size	5%[3]	4%[3]	7%[2]	5%[8]	.8	N.S.
XI	The teacher as a source of help to self	5%[3]	3%[2]	4%[1]	3%[6]	.5	N.S.
XII	Definition of roles and responsibilities of teachers	5%[3]	3%[2]		3%[5]	4.8	N.S.
XIII	Nature and structure of the curriculum	1%[1]	1%[1]	11%[3]	3%[5]	15.4	<.001
XIV	Teacher salary	1%[1]	4%[3]		2%[4]	5.4	N.S.
	TOTALS	100%[65]	100%[80]	100%[27]	100%[172]		

x^2 = 169.67 df= 26 p <.001

teachers, forms of released time (including sabatatical leaves), bringing paper work procedures up to date with new information and communication technologies, and developing climates and arrangements in which teachers could experiment with activities arising out of strong personal interest. In passing, it is interesting to note that, while the greatest percentage of discouragements from excessive demands on role and time came from United States teachers, the number of their recommendations for change in that area were less than those from English and German teachers. A most interesting case of non-difference in the percentage of recommendations but distinct differences in the socio-psychological nature of the recommendations between culture groups is suggested in the recommendations regarding <u>education and involvement of parents and community</u>. This is an illustration of relatively similar concern about an issue, but disimilarity in the way the concern is operationalized. Also, recall here that the German teachers identified parental support as an important source of enthusiasm more so than did the United States or English (See Table I). Their recommendations focus mainly on more, and more accurate, feedback from parents regarding the teacher's work, influencing parents to be more receptive to qualitative reporting of student progress, finding ways to intervene in the self-reinforced, negative opinions of parents about the school, and improving the home conditions of students so as to make teaching easier. Note that the nature of these recommendations seem to be best depicted as one-way flows of action rather than mutuality and collaboration; an acting on, rather than an acting with; one is agent and the other is target, rather than both being joint agents with each as single targets, or the target being the joint issue or problem. The English teachers'recommendations are a <u>mixture</u> of concern about finding ways to

increase involvement of parents by drawing more upon their expertise and finding means to bridge society and school in order to eliminate anti-school feelings, as well as finding ways to act upon parents, politicians, and the general public through education, selling, and control. Thus, some of the English teachers recommendations are characterized by a we-we perspective and some by a we-they perspective. The United States teachers recommendations are concerned mainly with finding ways to increase community involvement through voluntary groups and committees, opening up community and school contact by inviting parents and others into classrooms as a joint effort at lifelong learning, as well as shared decision making - but with professional educators in leadership roles. Across the three cultures, there appears to be represented a range from a more complementary (we-they) to a complementary - symmetrical (we-they/we-we) to a more symmetrical (we-we) perspective. This might also be conceptualized as a range from co-opting, to cooperation, to collaboration. The percentage of recommendations regarding status and prestige of teachers is greater for the United States and English teachers than for the German teachers. What is to be learned from West Germany about this issue that is translatable to the improvement of the status of teachers in the United States and England? Notice in Table II that the German teachers did not self-select any lack of status or insufficient pay items as sources of discouragement. We know that German teachers have higher salaries, that the hiring and placement decisions are not made at the school level and, from the immediately preceding discussion, that German teachers suggest holding the lay public at greater distance than do the United States and English teachers. In regard to the category of administrator practice, the United States teachers out-distance the English and German teachers in percentage of

recommendations. Their recommendations are concerned with finding ways to enhance the human relations and communication skills of administrators, increase their supportive and rewarding behavior toward teachers, increase their consistency in carrying out school policy, developing means for receiving regular and more helpful feedback from administrators, and having more accountability of administrators within the administrator-teacher relationship. It is interesting that Table II indicates that adminstration is equally a source of discouragement for teachers across the three cultural settings. But, Table III indicates that English and German teachers are non-to-minimally suggestive of recommendations regarding administrator practice. This could mean that the English and German teachers see little possibility of acquiring leverage for changing the behavior of administrators. This view is supported from our own conversations with English and German teachers. If this is true, then experience in United States schools may have potential for advising English and German schools about possible changes in the nature of administrator-teacher relationships. While the frequencies behind the percentages of recommendations regarding nature and structure of the curriculum are exceptionally small, the German teachers' percentage is larger. They express a desire to address the dilemma between some wishes for an integration of separate subjects and some wishes for maintaining separate subjects so as to reduce the problem of teachers teaching content for which they were not prepared. One specific recommendation they offer is to increase the opportunity for choice by teachers in selection of specific content they teach. Can English and United States practice inform German practice on this issue?

Comparison with Findings from other Studies

What teachers told us about sources of enthusiasm and discouragement is a mix of mostly extrinsic factors for both turn ons and turn offs, with very few of them being intrinsic. This is contrary to Herzberg's "two-factor" theory (1959). He claimed that satisfying factors are intrinsic in nature while dissatisfying ones are extrinsic. He also stated that the intrinsic ("motivation") and extrinsic ("hygiene factors") are mutually independent. Our findings suggest an interactive model as do most other studies. Still, some studies suggest that Herzberg's theory may hold true (Smilansky, 1984; Nias, 1981; Holdaway, 1978).

Our total list of sources of enthusiasm and discouragement resembles the findings of others, although the proportions may vary, due to sampling issues, kind of school, age of students, etc. When teachers speak about their sources of enthusiasm and discouragement they almost invariably include students; role multiplicity; a chronic lack of time; non-supportive administrators; low status; non-supportive parents and lack of resources. This is not surprising considering the reality of schools. All of the above were mentioned by all teachers in all three countries. Very high on most lists of sources of enthusiasm are good student-teacher relations and enthusiastic students (Plihal, 1981; Carey, 1980; Holdaway, 1978). Teachers in all three countries derived a special sense of satisfaction when their students demonstrated interest and responsiveness.

Many teachers regard their students' achievements as a source of great pride and satisfaction. When teachers have to deal with students who lack

motivation, this turns into a major source of unhappiness (Greenberg, 1984; Feitler, et.al., 1981; Carey, 1980; Litt and Turk, 1985). Joseph Blase (1981), in his meta analysis of teacher stress literature, reports that student discipline problems are a significant source of stress for teachers and are related to several other major sources of stress. Blase explains that teachers find an "authoritarian" approach (and one they indeed use in cases of student misbehavior) to be in contrast with personal values and incongruent with the kind of image they believe is essential for good classroom climate. Student behavior issues present another problem; they place teachers in direct confrontation with principals and parents, which then become sources of further stress. This concern with students is well reflected in our tables of enthusiasm and discouragement. Teachers in all three countries derived a special sense of satisfaction when their students not only achieved, but actually demonstrated enthusiasm and responsiveness. Enthusiastic students create a climate conducive to effective learning and teaching. It promotes students' growth and development which are regarded by teachers as very important (McLaughlin, 1986).

Teachers are over-burdened by a multiplicity of roles with very little time to attend to them in a satisfactory manner. Teachers in all three countries stated numerous times that they were in constant need for more time and clearer definitions of their roles. This is echoed throughout the literature. Dunham (1980) found in comparing comprehensive schools in England and Germany that the highest sources of discouragement were teachers' work loads and conflicting demands. In a survey of 360 teachers in 1982, Litt and Turk (1985) reported that teachers expressed confusion about their roles and an urgent need for more time. Lortie (1975) reported that teachers strongly

believed that their teaching effectiveness was linked with time use. The teachers he interviewed wanted more time for class-related activities. The same sentiment was echoed by the teachers interviewed by Stark and her associates (Stark et.al., 1985). Not surprisingly, teachers put the reorganization of work and time as number one on the recommendations they gave us. Blase (1986) firmly establishes linkages between teacher stress and teacher performance. He identifies the organizational aspects of the school as the major precipitator of stress and within his conceptualization of organizational aspects are included several of the items identified by teachers from all three countries in our own study. It is interesting, though, that when the percentages of these several organizational factors (how the time and work of the school are organized, system policies which influence schools and how they operate, class size, financing of human and material resources) are summed, the greatest percent of the German teachers' recommendations address these aspects, next is the English and and lastly the U.S. teachers. Blase finishes his paper with the assertion that those committed to improving schools should direct major attention to the complex organizational aspects of schools which he views as the major barrier to effective teaching and learning.

Teachers in our samples complained about non-supportive administration. As Blase (1981) explains, there are two components to that issue, one being lack of support, the other lack of consistency. Teachers require from administrators two sets of behavior which could easily clash. On one hand they expect administrators to be policy makers and carriers. On the other hand they want them to be flexible, and less centralized. Miskel argues that although centralization reduces morale, increased formalization of policies

actually improves teachers' attitudes (Miskel, et.al., 1979). Teacher-administrator conflicts have a strong impact on school effectiveness. Miskel claims that effective schools are characterized by more participative organizational processes and yet more formalized general rules. Research on teachers' discouragement is marked by frequent reference to administrators' lack of support (Holdaway, 1978; Greenberg, 1984, Carey, 1980; Plihal, 1981; Blase, 1981; Dunham, 1980). It is interesting to note that administrators themselves acknowledge the problem. Ben Brodinsky (1984) reports results from a survey given to 300 administrators in which they suggest to support teachers by involving them more in decision making, and acknowledging their contributions.

Lack of resources is a relatively smaller concern for teachers in Germany and the United States, but is a higher priority for the English teachers in our sample. Feitler (1981) reports the lack of resources as a major concern for teachers. This is also true for teachers in Holdaway's research (1978) and that of McLaughlin, et al (1986).

Parents can be a source of both stress and satisfaction. They sometimes help resolve an already existing problem, (student misbehavior) or create for the teacher an unpleasant confrontation with the administrator (Blase, 1986). As in our study, parents may not be a major source of influence, but they are a significant one.

Teacher status and salary are related in the real world, but they are not always related in the minds of the teachers. In our samples salary came last. In other studies this was true too (Carey, 1983; Greenberg, 1984; Holdaway, 1978; Chapman and Lowther, 1982). One possible explanation is that teachers have a commitment to work. This has to do with ideals. Salary is a

down-to-earth, practical issue. People with concern for high-paying jobs would not enter teaching in the first place. The teachers we interviewed said that better status is an important issue and that money matters become significant only when they reflect low status.

The National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges Council on Academic Affairs issued a statement in 1984 in which it calls for a change in the professional environment for teaching in order to attract and reward competent people. Among specific recommendations are substantial salary increases. While the teachers we interviewed did not emphasize salary as an issue, They did feel that increases in the status of teaching and in the retention of good teachers could be strongly assisted by higher salaries. We believe that it is essential for the implementers of such suggestions to realize that while higher salaries represent an important force toward an enhanced sense of status and social image for teachers, it is the opportunity and support for successful experiences with young people that function as one of the major forces toward teacher enthusiasm and satisfaction.

The teachers we interviewed felt the need for professional development so acutely that they placed it as the second most important factor (Table III). Teachers told us how stimulating their workshops could be and how strongly they felt when they were denied the opportunity to attend them. The same findings are reported by others (Plihal, 1981; Miskel, 1979; McLaughlin, 1986). Teachers suggested to us that professional development ought to be a regular activity which could revitalize their teaching methods and facilitate open communication between educators. Many of them lamented that teachers experience isolation and depression because they lack communication opportunities.

Closing Statement

What we have attempted to do in this paper is initially to position our study in the context of related research literature on enthusiasm and discouragement. We then described the methodology and findings, interpreting the findings in light of similarities and differences across the three cultures. Finally, we related our results to those of other relevant studies. Throughout the RESULTS section of the paper, we identified several points of possible cross-cultural learning which educators in each of the three countries might wish to consider. At the same moment, we hold our in-progress findings with much tentativeness as we continue the collection of further data along the lines we have begun.

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